1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Death.—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

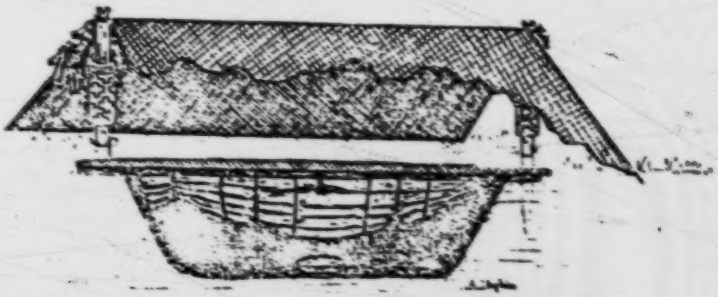

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now becomes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day warfare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/37 cont./

[530] [535] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han hm han. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he [688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

[532] [535] [562] [688] If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or otherwise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes, she is punished by death.

Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain [839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever [766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river. [778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
765 of food is placed on the grave for six days. When the body is decayed, the grave is dug up again (according to Pedro, after one month; according to Kurišť, after a year). The bones are cleaned and gathered together in a large funeral urn. This cleaning from the bones the bits of flesh still clinging to them is said to be done by means of a bone like the one customarily used for cauterizing wounds; one end of the bone is held in the fire and the flesh is then scraped off with this heated end. Special ceremonies no longer seem to take place in connection with this. The urns are placed under trees in the large cemeteries, where they gradually become filled with sand (see Pl. 13 /see p. 7/, Ill. 2). Their shape corresponds to that of the cooking pots, except /331/ that they are provided with a lid (Pl. 58, Ill. 11). The largest such urn that I saw had a diameter of 80 centimeters.
• [766] Corpses of small children are said to be immediately deposited in such urns.

[768] The hut of the deceased is abandoned and then burned. If
[302] the husband died, the hair of the wife and of the mother of the man is cut short, except for a wreath of hair running all around (nǎkŭlăŭ); the hair of the children, however, is not cut. Upon the death of the wife, the husband, mother, and children do not cut their hair. As a further sign of mourning, both sexes wear bast or cotton bands around their heads. One woman wore, in addition, a narrow bast-belt around her waist; one boy had tied bast strips on the calf bands. Otherwise all ornaments are taken off. Laments for the dead are shouted out by both sexes with a

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may